

LABOR POWER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST UNION PARTY

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ORGANIZATION NOTES

By the time our readers receive this issue of **LABOR POWER** the Socialist Union Party will have two organizers in the field, the National Secretary and Comrade William Briggs.

Comrade Briggs is already on the job in Chicago. Although he has been there but a few days, Chicago activities are beginning to boom.

Comrades Gregory and Rubin, the "spark plugs" of our Chicago organization, have worked hard spreading Party propaganda making it and its program known to an ever widening circle of Chicago workers. In the past they were handicapped by the lack of public speaker in their ranks, but with the arrival of Comrade Briggs this void has been filled. Our comrades report that Comrade Briggs is giving an excellent account of himself and winning the respect of all who hear him. They are enthusiastic about the future and determined to make the Socialist Union Party the spearhead of the labor movement in Chicago.

The Chicago group having recruited several new members, the Executive Committee last meeting issued a charter constituting them Branch Chicago of the Socialist Union Party.

To prove that it means business the Branch has increased its bundle order of **LABOR POWER** from 100 copies to 250 per month and ordered 5,000 copies of the leaflet on the war crisis and expects to distribute considerable more.

The Press Committee sent in the following account of activity prior to the arrival of the National Organizer.

"The war danger has tremendously shaken up the workers in Chicago. They are everywhere discussing and trying to understand what is happening and what they can do to stop the war. Those that speak against the war are getting a welcome hearing. At an open air meeting a few days ago an ex-soldier became so incensed at some hecklers against an anti-war speaker that although he was not a member or follower of any workers organization he got up and told the crowd that he fought for democracy once and

that he was fooled and fought for an illusion and that workers should not support this new war because it was the same as the last war.

"A united front Committee has been set up here to fight against the war on a working class basis. This united front is fighting the war on the basis that this is another Imperialist War and that the American Capitalists must be fought before, during and after the war in order to stop the war and the system that breeds wars. The organizations that are participating are as follows:—Socialist Union Party, Marxian Labor College, Revolutionary Workers League (Revolt Group) Plebian Forum, Communist Workers Group, Revolutionary Workers League (Fighting Worker Group) and the Chicago Workers Security Federation an unemployed organization with 15 branches and several thousand members in Chicago.

"The United front Committee is distributing 20,000 educational leaflets against the war and is sponsoring two meetings. After that has been done other activities will be carried out.

"The followers of the Communist Party are again becoming storm troopers and are assaulting all those who distribute literature against the Capitalist system and the Stalin Dictatorship. There have been innumerable fights in Chicago in the last two weeks. **LABOR POWER** agents have been assaulted but we have managed to escape injury to ourselves so far, although one Stalinist has had his skull fractured by a Trotskyite whom he attacked.

"The sales of **LABOR POWER** are getting better every week. Several hundred copies were distributed in Rockford, Illinois and were well received.

JOHN GREGORY"

Our youngest branch is rapidly setting a mark for our older branches to shoot at.

Lack of space makes it necessary to put over reports of party activity in New York and Minneapolis to our next issue.

Branch Minneapolis is preparing a program for an intensified organizational drive in the Twin Cities and is eagerly awaiting the arrival of the National Secretary.

LABOR POWER

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Editorials . . .

SHADOW BOXING OVER NEUTRALITY

The present debate in Congress over revision of the existing Neutrality Act is only a sham battle in which the real issues have been neatly obscured or avoided by both sides.

Ostensibly the issue concerns neutrality. The Roosevelt administration, which is sponsoring the revision proposals, says that its object is to avert any possibility that there will be a repetition of the circumstances under which the United States entered the first World War, when Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare against "neutral" American vessels furnished the pretext for lining up with the Allies. On the other hand the proponents of the present law, which makes mandatory an embargo on the shipment of arms, planes and munitions to belligerents, declare that any change in the law at this time would be an "unneutral" act.

In the debate over the bill, both sides have succeeded in exposing the falseness of the claims of their opponents. In calling for revision, President Roosevelt showed that while the present law embargoes certain war supplies, it does not prevent the sale of raw material, food, clothing and many other commodities useful to belligerents, the shipment of which has caused the stoppage and sinking of vessels in the past.

On the other hand, the administration's proposal to bar the shipment of goods sold to belligerents until title has passed, and then only if carried in non-American vessels, contains the wide-open loophole exempting Canada and any other American nation at war with a European country from the provisions of the act. Shipments of any kind may be made to Canada in American boats, which are thus subject to attack by German submarines. In addition, the much vaunted "cash and carry" provision was omitted from this bill, credits up to ninety days being permitted. Opponents of the administration measure charge that this opens the door to unrestricted credits to belligerents, which tends to bring us into war in order to safeguard the loans.

Thus it is clear that neither the present Neutrality Act nor the Roosevelt-supported substitute eliminates those conditions which in the past have served as excuses for American entrance into war. Then why the hue and cry? The answer is that those who raised the issue of revision of the Arms Embargo are not in the least interested in discovering the best way to preserve American neutrality. What they are concerned with is finding the simplest and quickest method of coming to the aid of the British and French against Germany.

That this is the real motive behind the calling of the Special Session of Congress and the introduction of the President's bill is admitted by almost every Washington correspondent and political commentator. Yet President Roosevelt and his supporters in Congress continue to issue hypocritical statements in which they maintain that they are seeking to keep America out of this war by their bill!

The President's maneuvers are carried on for the purpose of preserving the interests of American capitalism which are menaced by German competition in many parts of the globe, but most particularly in Latin America. The steady rise of German exports to South and Central America has already eliminated most of the other countries from the competitive picture in recent years. Only American commerce is larger than Germany's and

the trade methods of Hitler's supersalesmen have presented a sharp challenge to that supremacy. In the same manner Germany's political and economic moves in Europe have threatened the domination of British and French imperialism. Thus the United States has a common interest with the Allies in crushing the forward march of Hitler. Therefore President Roosevelt's veiled moves to supply arms and war supplies to Britain and France.

Apart from the openly pro-Hitler elements, the opposition to the President's stand comes from a number of sources. In the ranks of the capitalists there are many who are not yet ready to take sides openly with either side. They would prefer to remain aloof from the war for the present and to profit by the crisis by selling to both sides. In this category must also be included those shipowners who would be immediately affected adversely by the bill calling for shipments to belligerents in other than American vessels. The various pacifist and Keep America out of War groups as well as certain working class organizations opposed to war likewise denounce the Roosevelt proposals. But this opposition is comparatively small, and the repeal of the present law is practically certain.

No matter which law is on the statute books however, the entrance of the United States into the war on the side of the Allies will not be prevented. The interests of American capitalism are too closely tied with those of Britain and France in this struggle to defeat Hitler, for the United States to refuse its men and arms if they are needed to assure the Allies' victory or to avert their defeat.

Only the action of the American working class, organized along class conscious lines determined no longer to serve as cannon fodder for the exploiters, can prevent this country from plunging into the war for imperialist profit for the second time in a generation.

The fight over Neutrality is only a sham. The workers must prepare to engage in the real struggle against the capitalist war-makers, while there still is time.

STALIN "LIBERATES" THE POLES

With the occupation and partition of Poland between Russia and the Nazi Butcher, the last excuse for working class support of the bloody Stalin regime has been destroyed. It had already been proved that Stalin is not building Socialism in Russia or fostering its establishment elsewhere. Now, for the first time, it is clear to everyone that the Soviet government neither stands for peace, nor does it hesitate at playing the imperialist game of grabbing territory and destroying smaller nations.

The pact of August 23rd between Berlin and Moscow bore fruit in the shape of Hitler's invasion of Poland one week later. With Poland conquered, the Russian army moved in to grab Stalin's share of the booty—a goodly portion of Eastern Poland, containing rich agricultural lands.

Upon the entrance of the Red Army into Poland, the landlords and noblemen were driven out and steps were taken by political commissars to divide the large estates among the peasants and to set up governmental machinery in harmony with the existing apparatus in Russia.

This process of sitting down with Hitler to decide how much territory he will keep and how much he will turn over to Stalin is euphemistically described as "liberating" the Poles from "brutal Nazi aggression" and "another triumph for human freedom" by the crawling lickspittles of Stalin. Unabashed at having again to contradict everything they had been saying for the past months, this crew of political gangsters denounced "the treacherous and semi-Fascist Polish Government" which only a short week before they had promised Stalin would defend.

With a hypocrisy rarely equalled by the apologists for capitalism, the *Daily Worker* bewailed the fate of the Polish people who were "left completely at the mercy of the Nazi invaders. As Hitler's hordes advanced further into Poland, the atrocities against the Jewish people and other minorities exceeded some of Fas-

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CAN A REFERENDUM STOP WAR?

WITH Poland in shambles and most of Europe at war or preparing for war, the workers of America are faced with the problem of keeping America out of war. The Roosevelt Administration has dealt capitalism's trump card of war from the bottom of the New Deal pack and unashamedly prepares to send the flower of American manhood into the holocaust. How can we halt the march to war.

"Pass the Ludlow Amendment," say some opponents of Roosevelt's moves, including, beside the heart-bleeding pacifist humanitarians, Norman Thomas' Socialist Party which is always confused, Lovestone and his Independent Labor League, and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. This last group up to last year spent many a dollar and used many a ream of paper exposing the fallacies of the Ludlow Amendment and attacking the supporters of this bourgeois will-o'-wisp. Now that this reform-masked-as-revolutionary outfit has passed into the camp it so long condemned, the task of unmasking their false pretensions becomes so much easier.

The proponents of the measure argue thusly: Everyone is opposed to war. If the working class is permitted to vote on war, they'll, ipso facto, vote against war and we'll have no war.

What naivete! Past history has shown that the political government is always the instrument of the ruling class. Voting is one of the means whereby the workers are deluded into believing that they exercise control. Lenin, to whom the Lovestonites and the Trotskyists profess allegiance said, in this connection: "They [Koutsky, et al.] fail to understand that voting within the confines of bourgeois parliamentarism is *part* of the state apparatus which must be broken up and smashed."

By supporting the Ludlow Amendment this conglomeration of reformers are fostering the illusion that a referendum of the people can stop war. They falsely imply that the state apparatus can be utilized in the interests of the subject class. They conveniently forget the

"Peace Vote" of 1916-1917 which re-elected Wilson on his promise to keep the United States out of the war. Wilson, answering the needs of the *ruling class* plunged the country into the struggle. What contempt the the bourgeoisie has for such "genuinely democratic processes." [Quotation from Trotskyite literature supporting this fraud.]

All this brazen sophistry is repeated in the face of the statement of an outspoken tool of big business, Walter Lippman, writing in the *Herald Tribune* of December 18, 1937:

"Suppose, for example, that instead of wanting to prevent a war, Mr. Roosevelt wanted a war with Japan: what could he do under the Ludlow Amendment. He could do what Japan has done in China, what Italy did in Ethiopia and in Spain. He could go to war without asking Congress to declare war. There is nothing in the Ludlow Amendment to stop him. He could still break off diplomatic relations. He could still mobilize the American Navy across the Japanese trade routes. He could land more marines at Shanghai. He could send warships up the Yangtze River. He could fire on Japanese airplanes. How would Mr. Ludlow prevent that? Did not President Wilson bombard and seize Vera Cruz, did he not send an army under General Pershing deep into Mexico, all without a declaration of war by Congress, much less a popular referendum?

"If an American President wants to go to war, he can go to war no matter what the Ludlow amendment says."

In view of this are we to assume that these alleged Marxists know no better? Quite to the contrary! The Trotskyite *New International* wrote during the original debate on the Ludlow Amendment as follows:

"One of the roads along which the masses are led into imperialist war is paved with good petty bourgeois pacifist intentions. . . . The revolutionary Marxists [But not the Trotskyites!] have learned from the great experiences of the class struggle that the working class

cannot be led forward a single step unless it is told the truth, which may not be popular at the moment. The workers cannot advance and become more conscious of their position and their role in society unless we *speak out what is*. [Emphasis in the original.]

"... To teach the masses that they can 'prevent war' by a popular referendum is to foster a dangerous illusion among them. The honest pacifists foster it unwittingly; Lovestone, who, as has been said knows better, fosters it deliberately out of habitual opportunistic considerations." [And the S.W.P., why do they foster it?]

In view of the foregoing, what value can workers place in the exhortations of the Trotskyites today who argue now:

"What could be more democratic than to decide . . . the question of war by a direct vote of people?" *Socialist Appeal*, May 1, 1939.

The full measure of their treachery is revealed in the manner in which the *New International* flayed the living hide off the hapless back of Lovestone for passing into the "camp of petty bourgeois pacifism . . . [there] is no reason why why the revolutionary Marxist should join them." Its editorial concluded:

"In sum, to support the Ludlow Amendment is to inculcate in the minds of the workers the idea that war can be 'prevented' or fought by *some means other than the class struggle*, that imperialist war can be averted otherwise than by the revolutionary socialist overturn of capitalist rule. . . ." [Emphasis in the original.]

The trouble with both groups of incurable optimists is that they are always trying to be "practical." With them the important thing is immediate gain, even if it has to be purchased at sacrifice of principle. The fact that such unprincipled conduct, while it does succeed for the moment in gathering a larger following of dupes, plays into the hands of the war mongers by fostering and strengthening "democratic" capitalist illusions in no manner daunts our "Marxists." They are determined to be "prac-

tical" at all costs. Like the Chinese of old, they are prepared to burn down their house to get their roast pork.

The time is now at hand for the workers to break with pacifism and its false illusions. The only way to resist the Roosevelt war preparations is to organize all of labor's forces on an anti-capitalist, anti-pacifist basis as the War Manifesto of the Socialist Union Party declares:

"The immediate task ahead of you is to counteract the high pressure propaganda of the war mongers and carry on a fight against their insidious war preparations. To this end, Anti-War Committees organized on a working class (anti-pacifist) basis should be set on foot throughout the country. These committees can organize independent worker action against war in the shape of strikes, demonstrations and the refusal to ship war materials abroad.

"However, to the extent that these immediate struggles do have an effect, they can only succeed in postponing America's entrance into war. They cannot abolish the cause of war.

"The desperate necessity of American capitalism coming to the assistance of its 'Democratic' Allies will bury all anti-war opposition under a full-fledged military fascist dictatorship, unless the workers come to grips with the capitalist state itself.

"Organize politically and industrially for the revolutionary act of emancipation. Politically, in the Socialist Union Party for the conquest of power; industrially, into a Socialist Industrial Union to take, hold and administer the industries in the interest of all Society."

That is the only real way to combat war!

—HERBERT BRANDON

THE CALAMITY

STOCKS LOWER AS PEACE TALK HALTS
BUYING

—*Financial page headline, Sept. 29*

WHO FIGHTS HITLERISM?

ONCE more history is repeating itself. In 1917 the opposition of the working class of the United States to entering the bloody imperialist shambles was broken down by Pied Pipers playing the tunes of "make the world safe for democracy" and "the war to end war." Every man who had the courage and honesty to condemn the butchery for what it was, a vicious struggle to redive the world's markets, was denounced as a German spy, an agent of the Kaiser.

Today, in 1939, a high-powered propaganda machine is once more at work building up sentiment among the American workers which will make them willing, nay even anxious, to run headlong into the second imperialist bloodbath, this time to the tune of "save democracy from fascism" and "protect civilization from the madman, Hitler." And again, those who refuse to fall for specious slogans and false promises, those who expose the material interests which motivate the instigators of this new war, are stigmatized as Hitlerites, as enemies of democracy, as friends of fascism.

The circumstance that the pro-Nazi sympathizers in this country also oppose America's entrance into the battle provides the war-mongers with a convenient pretext for an amalgam which unites such irreconcilable elements as Senators Borah, Johnson and La Follette, the pacifist groups, Norman Thomas, Father Coughlin, the German-American Bund, the Communist Party, the Keep America Out of War Committee, and the revolutionary Socialist movement. Each of these groups has its own motives for opposing the present war, some humanitarian, some selfish, some servile, and some because they realize that war benefits only the capitalist class, while it destroys the workers. It is in the last category that the opposition of the Socialist Union Party to participation in the present war belongs.

While we are comparing motives and aims, let us look a little closer into the question of who aids fascism and who fights Hitlerism.

The Socialist Union Party has from the very inception conducted an unflinching struggle against Fascism and all its manifestations. We attacked and denounced Nazi barbarism and brutality at a time when all the professional anti-Hitlerites of today, the Allied imperialists and their American supporters, were quite happy to welcome the butcher Hitler's regime into their fraternity of nations.

For more than six long years of Nazi bestiality visited on the German working class and its organizations, the British and French ruling class never once raised a protest against the Nazi outrages, because, they said, such affairs were "purely internal and domestic matters" which were not the concern of other nations. In fact the reactionary elements in those countries openly expressed their admiration of the methods by which Hitler was destroying the "Bolshevik menace." It was left almost exclusively to the international labor movement to carry on a determined struggle against fascism and fascists.

Now, suddenly, Hitlerism is recognized by the Allies as a menace to world peace which must be wiped off the face of the earth. A miracle, you say? Not at all. As long as Hitler confined himself to torturing the German working class and keeping it in subjection, the British and French rulers had no complaint. It was only when German capitalism's need for markets and sources of raw materials compelled Hitler to reach outside of Germany, that Britain and France found their interests threatened. It was then that Chamberlain and Daladier proclaimed Hitlerism a blight upon the earth which must be removed. What they really mean is that if German capitalism is not destroyed, it will destroy British and French domination of the world's markets.

The tragedy of the present crisis is that many workers who should have been warned by the lessons of the last war are being swept off their feet by the false slogans of the Allies. Admitting the sordid imperialist motives of England and

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THE TASK OF THE HOUR

As the guns began roaring and the bombs burst in the most densely populated section of Europe, the betrayal of the world proletariat by the social-patriotic Second and Third Internationals was completed. In practically every country in Europe and America these renegades to Socialism have succeeded in tying the major sections of the working class to the chariots of destruction of the imperialists.

The capitulation to their own capitalist exploiters by the Social Democracy and the Stalinists had long been forecast by their support of the anti-working class policies of "collective security," "the lesser evil," etc. The traitors try to justify their support of the present war by the sophistry that they hope thus to conquer fascism. The truth is, to the contrary, that the outbreak of war has established embryo fascist dictatorships in all the alleged "democracies."

It is important for the workers in those countries not yet at war to recognize and repudiate the betrayals of the Second and Third Internationals in order that they may build a new and solid Socialist unity on the basis of the class struggle. The task that confronts every section of the working class is to organize resistance to the war plans of the Roosevelt government. It is the capitalist enemy at home that the workers must defeat; once that is accomplished they can proceed to come to the aid of their oppressed brothers abroad. But woe unto the workers if they again go to fight "for democracy" abroad while they permit the imperialists to take it away at home—they will be past salvation!

The specific tasks ahead for the American working class include: (1) healing the breach in the ranks of organized labor; (2) organizing the majority of the workers who are not yet unionized; (3) unity of the forces of the employed with the unemployed; (4) militant struggle against participation by the United States in the European War of thieves; (5) determined resistance to the rise of fascism.

As the European war progresses the attempts of the Allied imperialists to make this country the supply house of the instruments of murder—munitions, planes, ma-

chinery; yes, even raw materials and food—must be fought with every weapon at the command of the workers. This struggle against indirect participation in the war can be carried on effectively only on a nationwide basis. That means the organization of Workers' Anti-War Committees based on the unions to direct and co-ordinate the fight.

The cynical and hypocritical position of the American government and the capitalist press on the question of American neutrality must be exposed for the sham it really is. Roosevelt and the supporters of his foreign policy know that the purpose of his proposed Neutrality Law is to afford the British and French an opportunity to purchase war materials here, while their enemy is excluded by lack of cash and ships from doing likewise. This position is preliminary to American open entrance into the war as soon as it appears that the Allies cannot win without American arms and men. No reliance can be placed on the "neutrality" protestations of the spokesmen for American imperialism!

Only the workers' own efforts can save the day. A working class properly organized on the basis of the recognition of their own class interests can effectively resist and overcome every attempt of the bourgeoisie to involve them in the imperialist slaughter. The Socialist Union Party calls upon all workers to form Anti-War Committees in their unions and fraternal organizations to begin the fight against war at once.

Workers, the future of society rests in your hands!

**FOR A MILITANT STRUGGLE
AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!**

**FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY
INTERNATIONAL!**

**FOR A SOCIALIST WORLD OF
PEACE, PLENTY AND SECURITY!**

LABOR POWER urges all workers to send in reports on all Labor activities throughout the country. All information will be treated as confidential, unless otherwise stated.—*The Editorial Board.*

ON THE UNION FRONT

STALINISTS RETAIN HOLD ON FUR UNION

In sharp contrast to the defeats sustained by them in other recent union elections, the Stalinist candidates for re-election to the New York Furriers Joint Council of the International Fur Workers Union, C.I.O., were returned to their posts by overwhelming majorities. One reason for their easy victory was the decision of the opposition group in the union to boycott the election because of the elimination of their candidates from the ballot.

Another and perhaps more potent explanation is to be found in the fact that the Stalinists have built up a powerful bureaucratic machine, which uses its control over the union's press to deceive the rank and file about the union's actual accomplishments, while at the same time slandering and vilifying the opposition. In this connection we print below a letter received just before the election from a fur worker which describes the situation in the union today:

"The bulk of the members of the Joint Council, who do not attend membership meetings have only one source of information about union affairs—the columns of the *Fur Worker*. The dues and assessments of every union member sustain and finance the *Fur Worker*. The membership has a right to expect that the editors keep the official organ a recorder of union events; nevertheless, the *Fur Worker* has become the organ, not of the union, but of the Stalinist machine which controls the union.

"The latest issue has a story reporting on the membership meeting of April 17th. This states that 'hoodlumism' and 'disruptive filibuster' were conducted by 'Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, and bogus Socialists' under the leadership of a 'Fascist reactionary, a Trotskyite.' This article is a vicious and factional misrepresentation of the facts.

"Distortion of news and misrepresentation of motives, practiced by those who control the union, are the usual methods employed by bureaucrats to maintain them-

selves in power. The outburst in the *Fur Worker* was intended to accomplish a twofold purpose:

"First, the article was a smoke-screen to hide the facts of the latest and most serious demonstration of bureaucracy, namely, the elimination of Progressive candidates in the coming elections. This undemocratic action was suddenly maneuvered after the meeting had been in progress for two and a half hours and most of the members had left. Such reconsideration without previous notice was a violation of our constitution. A proposal to consider the matter at the next meeting, with every member to be notified, was denied.

"Second, the article is an attack on specific political views distasteful to the Stalinist administration, but this can be considered only as a first step in the campaign to eliminate all workers who disagree with them. This belief is borne out by the fact that in other unions the Stalinist faction has already come out openly with such demands. Coming at a time when the entire fur industry is in a crisis, such maneuvers can result only in the weakening of our fight against the bosses' association, in our efforts to defend our living standards.

"The officers of our union are serving notice to the membership that any member who refuses to accept Communist Party ideas will be met by denial of his rights to expression at union meetings, and further, that persistent opposition will lead to expulsion.

"They have already gone so far as to publish the names of militant union members who hold radical views. Such actions provide fuel for the red-baiting campaign conducted by the bosses, and aid the reactionary labor bureaucrats in their attempt to drive militant workers out of the union and the fur industry.

"Further evidence that the union administration looks upon the union as an instrument to further their political purposes is their conduct at the membership meeting of April 17th. The Progressives had urged, both at the Executive Joint

Council, and at the membership meeting that we consider first, plans for union activities and the unfinished amendments to the constitution, and then such items as affiliation to the League for Peace and Democracy. As usual, the administration insisted that vital union matters be placed in a position secondary to purely political issues.

"Let the union membership beware of such factional use of their organization. Let them beware of the destruction of democratic procedure in the name of democracy. Continuation of such practices by the Stalinists will bring destruction of the union and will leave the fur workers without an organization to withstand the attacks which face us."

•

NATIONWIDE THEATRE STRIKE AVERTED

A last-minute agreement between two of the three principal unions in the entertainment field, those of the actors and the stagehands, brought to a close a two-months old dispute which had threatened to precipitate a nationwide strike on Labor Day. Before the settlement this dispute had brought out the worst features of the pure and simple craft unionism current today. Charges of racketeering, jurisdiction raiding, domination of the rank and file by careerists seeking to hold on to their jobs and fat salaries filled the air. Worst of all, the solidarity of the workers in the theatre, movie, radio and vaudeville fields was seriously disrupted and thousands threatened with the loss of work just as the new entertainment season was about to begin.

The conflict began with a series of charges filed by the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, popularly known as the Four A's, against Ralph Whitehead, executive Secretary of the American Federation of Actors, a subsidiary of the Four A's. The charges maintained among other things, that funds intended for the relief of needy actors had been misapplied by Whitehead and that he had purchased an expensive automobile with union funds. Backed by Sophie Tucker and Harry Richman, officers of the A.F.A.,

Whitehead refused to stand trial, denying the authority of the Four A's to discipline him. The parent body replied by revoking the charter of the A.F.A. and by authorizing the formation of the American Guild of Variety Actors to replace it in night club and vaudeville fields.

While the charges against Whitehead were still pending, the discontent of the rank and file with conditions in the A.F.A. was growing, and on June 27th a protest meeting of over three hundred and fifty night club, theatre and World's Fair performers was held, without benefit of the presence of any of the big names who later crowded into the limelight. Those who took the floor shouted, according to newspapers reports, "This is our bread and butter. We want a strong, democratic union which will protect us."

The rank and file demands included higher minimum wages, licensing of theatrical agents by the A.F.A. so that hiring would be under union control, adjustment of dues for the unemployed, admission of delinquent members to meetings, and democratic administration of the union. No attention to these demands was paid by the union officials at the last annual meeting of the A.F.A. Executive Board.

Upon their expulsion from the Four A's, Whitehead and Sophie Tucker immediately applied for and received a charter for the A.F.A. from the stagehands' union the I.A.T.S.E., dominated by President George E. Browne, a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. This open jurisdictional raid was immediately protested and the matter brought before the Executive Council which met early in August at Atlantic City. This time all the big names joined in the rush for publicity by embarking on a sudden airplane jump from Hollywood to Atlantic City with cameras grinding away every moment of the trip.

Frank Gillmore, president of the A.A.A.A., in stating his views to reporters, proved that the old craft vanities

DON'T FORGET TO RENEW YOUR
SUBSCRIPTION TO "LABOR POWER."

and illusions which had so long prevented the organization of the American workers into the A.F. of L. still persisted. He denounced "the treasonable and disgraceful acts of certain performers in delivering their brethren to the stagehands." The idea that unity with the stagehands, on a *democratic* basis, could be a source of added strength to the actors, is evidently quite incomprehensible to Mr. Gilmore and the actors who cheered his statements.

Despite the clear-cut issue before them, the A. F. of L. Council failed to take decisive action to denounce Browne's jurisdictional raid on the actors or to compel the revocation of the charter granted to the A.F.A. In a compromise solution which was subsequently rejected by the Four A's, the Council tacitly admitted Browne's perfidy when it proposed that the A.F.A. charter be restored by the actors, and that its affairs be turned over to a committee of ten pending new elections of officers. This was unacceptable to the Four A's because Whitehead would have the opportunity of regaining control of the A.F.A., whereas the actors insisted that he be ousted completely. With the breakdown of the compromise negotiations, Browne refused to revoke Whitehead's charter.

These matters stood until the last morning when the settlement was announced with dramatic suddenness. Sophie Tucker was expelled by Actors Equity and a better strike was expected when fellow actors refused to work with her when the show in which she appears reopened on Labor Day. By the terms of the settlement, which was effected one day before the deadline, the stagehands recognized the Four A's jurisdiction over the actors and agreed to revoke the charter granted to the A.F.A. Sophie Tucker and Harry Richman were to be reinstated by Equity but no mention of Whitehead's status was made.

The agreement represents an almost complete victory for the actors and a complete about-face by Browne. Just what other concessions were made to Browne were not announced but it is believed that the chief stimulus to a settlement was the threat of the C.I.O. to enter the amusement field. When the A. F. of L. failed to

order the I.A.T.S.E. to revoke Whitehead's charter, rumors began floating around that the Four A's would break away and support the United Studio Technicians Guild, C.I.O. against the A.F. of L. stagehands. Under the agreement just signed the actors will now support Browne's union in any controversy with the C.I.O.

The actors and the stagehands have agreed to form an alliance similar to one already existing between the stagehands and the musicians. Thus the outlines for an all-inclusive union in the amusement world have been laid. The next move is up to the rank and file; agitation for organizational unity on democratic lines of every worker in the entertainment field.

BATHROBE DISPUTE DIVIDES GARMENT WORKERS

Another jurisdictional battle between two hitherto friendly unions may soon draw thousands of garments workers into a major struggle as the result of rival claims to control over bathrobe making put forward by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The latter organization, whose members work in the men's clothing line, has just proclaimed its jurisdiction over clothing

Daniel De Leon

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—N. Lenin.

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firms making men's bathrobes, and has attempted to sign up a number of shops formerly under contract to the I.L.G.W.U.

Both men's and women's bathrobes are customarily made in the same shop, the only distinction between them being that the pocket is placed on opposite sides of the robe. The raid on these shops by the Amalgamated brought forth the announcement from David Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Union President, that he "accepts the rival organization's declaration of war."

In a statement to the press, the workers in the shops affected, all members of the I.L.G.W.U., bitterly attacked the A.C.W.A. "All of a sudden the Amalgamated Workers' Union decides we belong to it. We learned this not from union organizers but from our bosses, who brought Amalgamated agents into shops signed up with Local 91. We have been in the trade long enough to know what this means: a deal between our bosses and a dual union to lower our conditions.

The Amalgamated agreement gave away an 18 per cent wage increase. It also deprives us of our vacations with pay. Worst of all, it divides and weakens the bathrobe workers

"We would like to know what kind of a C.I.O. union the Amalgamated is when it tries to break up our industrial union into crafts, and crafts which do not even exist."

Sidney Hillman, C.I.O. vice-president, and President of the A.C.W.A. is one of those labor leaders who has had bestowed upon him by capitalist admirers the title "labor statesman": it is quite clear that his statesmanship in this case will again merit the bosses' applause. As far as the workers are concerned, Mr. Hillman has once again earned only their contempt.

WE FIGHT — FOR DEMOCRACY?

"Politics, (noun). A strife of interests, masquerading as a contest of principles."
—Ambrose Bierce.

* * *

"Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here, or any woman—let me say, is

there any child here—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? . . . The real reason that the war we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred, was hot successful commercial and industrial rivalry."—President Woodrow Wilson in a speech at St. Louis, September 5, 1919.

* * *

"We were deluded in 1917. There was no sound reason for intervention, but today the situation is different. The world is confronted with a bloc of aggressors ranging from the Rhine to the Pacific, and America's lot is definitely cast with that of England and France. It is my belief that the sooner the military and economic resources of the United States are thrown behind the Allied cause the shorter the war will be. It is nonsense to talk of neutrality."—Charles Yale Harrison, who turned social patriot.

* * *

"Philadelphia, Sept. 23 — Roland S. Morris, Professor of International Law of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and a former Ambassador to Japan, today urged repeal of the arms embargo in the neutrality law. He said that in the present state of affairs 'it is almost impossible for the United States to be impartial, so closely does modern commerce tie us to the life of the world.' He conceded that repeal of the embargo would help Britain and France."—(*New York Times*). A candid advocate of war tells why.

* * *

"It is a commonplace today to say that entrance of the United States into war would go far toward making this country safe for dictatorship."—Charles Van De- vander in the *New York Post*. Looks like the war will be fascism versus fascism instead of democracy versus fascism, does it not?

WHO FIGHTS HITLERISM?

(Continued from page 7)

France, these workers still believe that the United States should enter the war on the side of the Allies because, they explain, victory over Germany will result in the elimination of the bestial Hitler regime. These workers place the present struggle in the category of a progressive war, worthy of the support of the working class.

Those who reason in this manner fail to take into account the fact that it is not the workers who are conducting the war or who will decide how it is to be settled, but the imperialist governments! They fail to note that while the Allies are fighting to destroy Hitler, they are by no means fighting the fascist system. Chamberlain and Daladier have already offered to conclude peace with any kind of German government which will listen to "reason" and which will halt the expansion of German trade and influence at the expense of England and France.

Even more fundamental an error is the illusion that fascism can be destroyed by any capitalist government. It was precisely in settling the imperialist accounts after the last war that the ground for Hitlerism in Germany was prepared. The Versailles "peace" by which Germany was stripped of the colonies and territory she had previously conquered, impoverished the German capitalist class until it could no longer maintain control over the workers by "democratic" means and had to turn to Hitler to avoid total bankruptcy.

Another victory over Germany may cause Hitler's downfall, but unless the German working class rouses itself, it can result only in the establishment of a puppet regime, subject to the domination of France and England. Even if bourgeois democracy were re-established, a virtual impossibility, it would again fall of its own weight, because after this war, the breakdown of German industry will be even greater than after the last, again making it impossible to control the workers by "democratic" rule.

And how have our glorious anti-fas-

cist fighters in London and Paris set about fighting Hitler? Why, by the imposition of stringent military dictatorships at home! Civil liberties have been curtailed, democratic rights superseded, censorship over all communication set up, and elections suspended. The trade unions have been regimented into a military apparatus and deprived of all freedom of action. To strike is an act of treason. Where the first World War prepared the ground for fascism in defeated Germany, the second prepares the ground for fascism in the Allied countries—and this in the name of fighting fascism.

If the American workers fail to resist the attempts to drag this country into the war, our democratic rights (such as they are) will suffer the same fate. This is recognized even by the spokesmen of capitalism. Thus, Governor Aiken of Vermont in a speech at Syracuse, N. Y. on Sept. 21st warned that "America's peril lies not in the danger of losing a war, but in the fact that while defeating dictatorships abroad, we would inevitably be losing democracy at home." Note that word "inevitably"! Colonel Lindbergh's speech opposing repeal of the Arms Embargo issued the identical warning. And even if this be discounted because of his alleged pro-Nazi sympathies, the same fears have been publicly expressed by such men as ex-President Hoover, Senator

EARL BROWDER EXPLAINS ALL

On July 5, the following question was put to Earl Browder, American Communist Party leader, "Is there any possibility, as has often been suggested, of the Soviet Union entering into an agreement with Germany?"

To which Browder replied, "The most active source of such rumors is Berlin, which has hopes of confusing the democracies with such stories. There is about as much chance of such an agreement as of Earl Browder being elected President of the American Chamber of Commerce."

Styles Bridges and many other conservatives.

These are no vague premonitions spoken to alarm the public; they arise from study of concrete and material steps already planned by the Roosevelt Administration, to go into complete effect immediately upon America's entrance into war. Drawn up in legislative form by the War Department under the title of the Industrial Mobilization Bill, the plan is to be introduced and rushed through Congress as an emergency measure with little or no discussion. Its provisions follow the same pattern of military dictatorship that Chamberlain and Daladier have instituted in Great Britain and France.

Besides a detailed conscription plan for obtaining cannon fodder, the bill deals with the regimentation of both industry and labor. As the *New York Post's* Washington correspondent wrote on Sept. 23rd, "Those not accepted for military duty would be conscripted, in an equally real sense, for service on the home front.

"Their wages, hours and conditions of employment would be subject to strict regulation from Washington. When necessary, war-time government agencies would have power to place them at work where their services were deemed most valuable. *Present wage-hour laws, the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike probably would be impaired.*" (Our emphasis.)

This is what participation in the present imperialist war means for the American working class—autocratic military rule, with no prospect that once clamped down, it will ever be lifted. *Imperialist war, at this stage of capitalism's decay, far from being a means to destroy fascism, is a direct breeder of dictatorship.*

The horrors of war and of fascism are both inevitable products of the capitalist system of production. Faced by the fact that all the world's markets and colonies have already been distributed, the only hope of a capitalist nation which wishes to survive is to steal the markets and colonies of its rivals or to utterly destroy those rivals by force. Internally, capitalism is confronted with growing unemployment

and mounting relief costs which threaten its financial stability. It can suppress the discontent of the workers, avoid revolution and preserve "order" only by destroying democratic rights and chaining the workers, i.e., by instituting fascism.

That is why an Allied victory will not do away with fascism. Such a victory will only worsen the conditions of workers in both the victorious and the defeated countries. Nor will it solve the basic problem of capitalism, the expanding need for markets in which to dispose of the ever-growing surplus of products filched from labor.

On the other hand, fascism can be defeated permanently, war abolished, imperialism done away with, only by the independent class conscious action of the working class, organized *in opposition* to the capitalist regime, with the aim of overthrowing the rival bandits on both sides and establishing a new order based on co-operation rather than hatred, on freedom rather than dictatorship, on security and peace rather than fear and war. The working class is the only progressive force in society today. It must rally its strength to achieve its own emancipation, else chaos and destruction will be the order of the day.

To the question, "Who fights Hitlerism?" the Socialist Union Party replies, "Only those who have broken with capitalism and build their faith on the action of the working class. All others are only shadow-boxing, if they are not deliberately betraying the struggle against fascism. For only the Social Revolution, the victory of Socialism, can wipe the menace of Hitlerism from the face of the earth."

—ABRAHAM ZIEGLER

PRESUPPOSITION

Little boy-blue, come, blow your horn;

Your horn so prettily twisted.

He blew with such pains,

That he blew out his brains,

So little boy-blue went and 'listed.

—JOHN S. CLARKE

AN OBITUARY OF WORKING CLASS TRAITORS — French Communist Party Outlawed

WITH the destruction of the French Communist Party by decree of Daladier's cabinet, there also fell the last vestiges of Popular Frontism, that grotesque political concept by which the Stalinist Comintern sought to make workers believe that fascism could effectively be combatted by the co-operation of the working class with "democratic" and "progressive" petty bourgeois and capitalist forces.

The basis of this concept, which for more than four years dominated the French Communist Party's tactics, as well as those of every other arm of the Third International, was to be found in the needs of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. The rise of Hitler in Germany terrified Stalin and his cohorts to such an extent that they gave up all pretense of promoting international working class solidarity against capitalism and turned towards alliances with the "democratic" nations. This reflected itself in the Communist Party demands for "Collective Security" agreements between Soviet Russia and the "democracies." Internally, in each country, the same alliance was sought by promotion of the Popular Front.

A combination of political circumstances made the French C.P. the spearhead of this drive for the new tactic. The Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact of 1935 had already set up an alliance for the purpose of combatting possible aggression by Hitler. The internal menace of fascism was now exaggerated to such an extent that an alarmed working class flocked to the banner of the Popular Front which was held aloft by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Radical Socialists, with the support of the C.G.T., the French trade union federation. In the April, 1936 elections, the Popular Front candidates received an overwhelming majority. Taking over the administration of the French political apparatus in June, 1936, the Popular Front maintained its control for almost two years.

Thus the French Communist Party, which was the most outstanding upholder

of Popular Frontism, was in a position to draw to itself thousands of workers who were dazzled by the "successes" of the new maneuver. It rose to third position among the parties in France, ranking after the Socialists and the Radical Socialists in votes polled. Its paid membership was estimated at more than half a million; it was represented by two Senators and 72 Deputies in Parliament and it controlled some 800 municipalities throughout France.

Out of a clear blue sky came the thunderbolt of the Stalin-Hitler Pact on August 23rd. Renouncing "Collective Security" for the military alliance with Hitler, Stalin simultaneously signed the death warrant of the French C.P. Despite its public pledge of support for the war against Germany, despite the gesture of its General Secretary, Thorez, in enlisting in the French army, the distrust of Daladier could not be allayed.

Even before a decree was issued against the Communist Party, Daladier cracked down upon its press, suppressing *L'Humanite* and *Ce Soir* immediately upon the beginning of the war. The formal decree of September 26th confirmed the action of suspending these newspapers, or-

THE 'HOLY CRUSADE' AGAINST FASCISM

"We Christians have no business to idealize this war. The last war did not settle a single basic problem in international relations. Twenty-five years from now serious minds will be saying the same about this war. That is the unspeakable tragedy of it all. I certainly hope this war will rid us of Hitler. The last war rid us of the Kaiser, yet solved nothing. We can drive out a Hitler, but by its very nature it sows dragons' teeth from which a crop of other Hitlers spring."—Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in a sermon at Riverside Church, New York City, October 1, 1939.

dered the dissolution of the Communist Party and prohibited the appearance henceforth of all other Communist publications throughout France.

The irony of history willed that the Communist Party be destroyed by the very government which it had helped create and maintain. For the present Daladier military dictatorship in France is the legitimate offspring of the Popular Front government which gave up the reins of office in April, 1938. Taking the Premiership at a moment of external and internal crisis, Daladier asked for and received from Parliament, *with the consent of both the Socialist and Communist Parties*, the right to rule France by emergency decree. Thus the Communist Party placed into Daladier's hands the weapon he used to destroy it.

PEOPLE'S FRONT SMASHED SIT-INS

The French Communist Party is dead. In writing its obituary, we must not overlook "crediting" it with two outstanding acts of treachery to the working class, in addition to its general policy of betrayal as exemplified in the Popular Front support.

The first act was the smashing of the sit-in strike movement in June, 1936. Toward the end of May, 1936, the accumulated miseries of the working class, accentuated by wage cuts, long hours, large increases in living costs, burst out in an unprecedented and spontaneous nationwide strike wave. This movement was radically different from the usual strike struggles carried on by the reformist trade union leaders. Instead of leaving the factories, the workers locked out their employers and took possession of the shops. All through France the strikes spread like wildfire. A revolutionary crisis was in being.

Overnight the workers had become the most powerful force in France. Bourgeois correspondents reported that "the strikers had France at their mercy." From the viewpoint of the working class, here at last appeared to be French labor's golden opportunity to achieve its emancipation.

In the midst of the sit-in wave, the first People's Front government, headed by

Leon Blum, took office. Immediately it set about restoring "order." A fake settlement of the strike was forced through with the aid of Jouhoux and his fellow labor fakers of the C.G.T., and the workers were ordered to surrender the factories to the capitalists and return to work. But strangely enough, the workers refused to budge, realizing that they were in a position to achieve some real gains. The government dared not use its troops who were reported to be unreliable. At this critical point the Communist Party came charging to the rescue—of French capitalism.

"Everything is not possible at this time," thundered *L'Humanite*. The strikers who refused to accept the settlement were accused of being agents of the fascists, seeking to create trouble. "The workers must know how to stop a strike, as well as how to start one," said Thorez, urging the workers to evacuate the factories. Abandoned by those to whom they looked for leadership, and without revolutionary direction from any other source, the workers sullenly surrendered.

This episode was the beginning of the end for the French workers. Commenting on the situation at the time we wrote: "The workers of France, led by the labor lieutenants of the French bourgeoisie, have been crushed. The field is now clear for the forces of reaction." In light of current events, this prophecy seems to have been fulfilled with a vengeance.

THE BETRAYAL OF SPAIN

The second overt piece of treachery performed by the French Communist Party was its cowardly acquiescence in the abandonment of Loyalist Spain by the Popular Front government.

The defeat of the Spanish workers at the hands of the butcher Franco, backed by the Hitler-Mussolini fascist axis was a crushing blow to the world proletariat. This defeat was hastened by the infamous "Non-Intervention" policy invented by Britain and pushed forward by France to deprive the Spanish loyalists of sorely needed military equipment and supplies. At the same time Franco was abundantly supplied with men, planes, arms and food

by Hitler and Mussolini without a real protest or slightest interference from the "democracies."

While all this chicanery and double-dealing was going on, the Communist Party of France was playing its full part in duping the workers. Proclaiming its solidarity with the Spanish working class, it was simultaneously giving its support in Parliament to the Popular Front regime which was strangling Spain.

THE LESSON OF THE POPULAR FRONT

The history of the French Popular Front shows us that, projected as the means to combat fascism, it eventually became the starting point for fascism. *This was no accident!*

People's Frontism or any other form of class collaboration plays into the hands of capitalist reaction by helping to build up and to strengthen the illusions of the workers about the nature of "democratic" capitalist governments. It best serves the interests of the ruling class to hide its domination of society under the cloak of a sham democracy. But there have often occurred periods of working class unrest, brought about by capitalist economic and political crisis, when, before the groundwork for fascism has been laid, the politicians of the ruling class have been unable to hold the workers in check. It was then that capitalism turned to ostensible spokesmen for labor for aid in subduing their duped followers, using as protective coloring their alleged "Socialism" or progressivism.

Thus did German capitalism after the war use Ebert, Scheideman and the Social Democracy. Thus did Britain call upon Ramsay MacDonald and the Labor Party. And thus did France deceive the workers with Leon Blum's People's Front government, supported by the Communist and Socialist Parties. Once these class-collaborationist governments had served their function of running working class sentiment for revolt into the ground, they were gently discarded, with the conditions of the working class worse than before, and with the capitalist class ready to clamp down with the iron fist of fascism should the workers stir again.

The debacle of the French Popular Front should have served as a warning to those elements in the working class who understand the nature of the forces at work today in disintegrating capitalism. Yet here in this country we find few to warn the workers against the fatal lure of the American brand of People's Frontism, known as the Labor Party.

Instead we have the peculiar spectacle of self-styled Marxists and revolutionists denouncing the French Popular Front and Popular Frontism in general on the one hand, while on the other they are urging workers to support its American variants. In the 1938 elections, the Lovestone Independent Labor League could see no inconsistency in attacking the French betrayers of labor, and at the same time urging the workers to support Democratic politicians in Michigan and California, and American Labor Party candidates in New York.

Similarly, the Trotskyite Socialist Work-

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—Ad in New York *Herald Tribune*,
Sept. 4, 1939.

ers Party, also allegedly fighting class-collaboration, threw its support in Minneapolis last year to Governor Benson of the Farmer-Labor Party, a limb of Roosevelt's New Deal. In the current New York City elections for Councilmen the Trotskyites are urging their supporters to vote for certain American Labor Party candidates as second choice to their candidates. The American Labor Party, as is well known, is committed to the support of Roosevelt's policies, including his attempt to draw the United States into the Second World War. Thus the Trotskyites are in the rather questionable position of asking workers to vote "for Socialism and against war" as personified by their own candidates, and "for capitalism and for war" as personified by the American Labor Party's nominees.

The growth of a powerful reformist

Labor Party that bases itself upon gaining control of the capitalist state apparatus can only lead to a repetition of the tragic experience that has befallen the French working class with its Popular Front. For if history teaches us anything it is that the political machinery of capitalism cannot be adapted to working class purposes. In fact, the first step in the emancipation of the workers must be the capture and destruction of the capitalist state and its replacement by a workers' administration, the Socialist Republic of Labor.

Any political party which seeks to have the workers place their faith in capitalist reform parties or movements is, wittingly or unwittingly, preparing the ground for the fascist reaction. That is the lesson of the French People's Front. That is what the death of the French Communist Party should teach us.

UNITED FRONT OR ORGANIC UNITY

Socialist Union Party Reply to "Revolt" Proposals

Revolutionary Workers League, U. S.
Chicago, Ill.
Comrades:

We have your communication dated September 13th referring us to your "Open Letter to Revolutionists" published in the current issue of *Revolt* and requesting an expression of opinion from us on the proposal for organic unity contained therein.

I have been instructed by our Provisional Executive Committee to reply as follows:

It appears to us that you are confusing the tactic of the United Front with the question of organic unity.

The Socialist Union Party is prepared to enter into a United Front against Imperialist War on a revolutionary anti-pacifist basis with all working class organizations be they Socialist, Anarchist or Leninist. In Chicago our local branch has entered into such a United Front. Here in New York we have issued a call for the formation of a similar committee.

However there is a basic difference between a United Front on a specific issue and organic unity. It does not follow

that because we can work with a rival organization on a specific question such as war, that all obstacles to organic unity with that organization have been removed. For example we can work with the Anarchists and I.W.W. assuming that they take a revolutionary position on the war issue but under no circumstances can there be a question of organic unity with them. We do not want a repetition in the United States of the tragic experiences of the Spanish Revolution for which the muddleheaded confusion of the Anarchists on principled questions was largely responsible. The same reasoning applies to the Leninist organizations of which your organization is one.

As our official organ, LABOR POWER, has constantly proclaimed, and as you should know the Socialist Union Party is a DeLeonist organization. We could not without doing violence to our basic principles enter into organic unity with a Leninist organization such as yours. In fact such unity would be a misnomer. It would really constitute "confusion worse confounded."

(Here the letter contains quotations from Engels and Lenin on the question of unity, which we omit for space considerations.—Editorial Board.)

Apparently your organization is making the identical error that Lenin warned against, i.e. "putting forward a slogan that would unite all."

I must take strenuous exception to the gratuitous assumption contained in your letter that the Socialist Union Party is among the organizations that accept the tactic of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Socialist Union Party and its official organ LABOR POWER has consistently opposed the tactic of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. I can refer you to my open letter to Leon Trotsky which appeared in the July issue of LABOR POWER as our latest expression of opinion on this question. It is not only the Dictatorship of the Proletariat that stands between us, there are other issues on which we differ from Leninism, among them the question of reformism, etc.

In view of our principled differences we must categorically reject your offer of organic unity, there being no common ground for discussion.

Fraternally yours,
ABRAHAM ZIEGLER,
Provisional National Secretary.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 4)

cism's goriest deeds." But, gentlemen of the DAILY WORKER, if Stalin's object was to liberate the Poles from the horrors of Fascism, why did he make a deal with Hitler by which the greater part of the Polish people were left to Hitler's tender mercies?

As is plain to every worker except a Stalinist, the partition of Poland was part of the deal previously agreed upon on August 23rd. Stalin has now joined the camp of the imperialist bandits whom he previously denounced. That is the meaning of his subsequent diplomatic exchanges with Latvia and Esthonia, by means of which great military concessions were granted to Russia and large sections

of territory on the Baltic Sea were opened to her soldiers and navy.

The defenders of this "Bolshevist" imperialism who seek to explain it as the extension of Communism to a greater area are guilty of a double fraud on unknowing workers. First, the Russians are *not* spreading Communism for that social order does not exist in Russia. The division of large estates among peasantry is in no degree a measure of communism, but exactly its opposite. For communism, instead of dividing such lands will take over and unify them for the more efficient production of agricultural products. What Stalin's agents are doing is to throw the peasantry a bone to prevent them from expressing their anger at having their country dismembered.

The second and more vicious lie is the idea that communism is to be imposed by force of arms upon an unwilling populace. That is exactly what the bourgeois press charged against Lenin and Trotsky in 1917, when in fact the spirit of the working class was even more militant than that of the Bolshevik Party. *The Proletarian revolution which brings about communism can only be the class conscious act of the workers themselves.* Communism cannot be imposed upon a people unwilling to accept it.

The longer Stalin's moves are studied, the more vicious they appear. His regime has earned the anger and fear, not only of the Russian working class, to whom it has already much to answer for, but of the international proletariat as well. It is time to acknowledge what everyone has been thinking for some time past. The glorious Russian Revolution of November, 1917 has been murdered by the Master of the Kremlin. He is now engaged in dishonoring its memory by his imperialist acts in the name of "communism"

The working class of the world repudiates Stalinism and all its works with the same horror that it rejects bestial Fascism. It is the prime task of the Russian workers to overthrow the cancerous Stalinist bureaucracy if they are to begin anew the advance towards communism. The workers in other countries will lend their support to the achievement of that task.

HELP BUILD "A WELL ENTRENCHED REVOLUTIONARY PARTY"

With two organizers stationed in the field, it becomes necessary to launch a special organizers fund to the end that these comrades may be kept on the job as long as possible.

Only through the wholehearted cooperation of comrades in Minneapolis and Chicago, together with the individual sacrifices of these comrades, has made it possible for the party to place two organizers in the field at this crucial and opportune time. However we can not expect these comrades to bear the entire brunt of this burden. It becomes the duty of all party members, friends and sympathizers to pitch in and help carry the load.

Our attention has been directed to the very pertinent observation recently made by the *London Economist*, an international capitalist journal:

"Those who fear anarchy (read revolution) can console themselves with the reflection that the world has never known a bloody revolution . . . except when two conditions were present: severe and long standing injustice, and a well entrenched revolutionary party."

The capitalist class recognizes only too well the vital importance of the revolutionary party for proletarian emancipation. We as professed revolutionists can not do less. However such recognition on our part has value only in the degree that we are willing to translate it into action. At the moment our immediate duty is to make every sacrifice within our power to help build up the Special Organizers Fund.

Branch New York has taken the initiative in launching the Socialist Union Party Special Organizers Fund by forwarding a contribution of \$30.00, raised at a branch entertainment.

Comrades and friends, let us all follow up this encouraging start. Help build "a well entrenched revolutionary party" by rushing in your contribution to the Special Organizers Fund.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE JOINT PUBLICATION FUND

The following contributions have been received for the Joint Publication Fund:

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